

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 1000]

With the multitude of working men employed at wages by capitalists, the question of personal liberty or chattel slavery is by no means the principal one of the times. They are too much occupied with their own social and pecuniary privations, too much occupied with the general interests of productive industry, and the equitable distribution of wealth in their own world, to give an effective sympathy to the cause of the South.

life are at stake, or, if daily bread is regularly earned by daily toil, the felt insecurity of the provision presses upon them; and this feeling is enhanced by the wants of that ambition and the ambition which evil freedom inspires for the emancipation of the bondman does not command much at ease in their own condition as to feel the impulses of a distant philanthropy.

The English and Irish poor tacitly assent

nothing near and practical to themselves; but

an immigrant in a hundred from either of the islands will acknowledge abolitionism here. They are Democrats, and nothing else, upon the issue that arrays itself against the forms of oppression which affects themselves, wherever you find them, whether in the almshouse or custom-house, in the church or gin-shop. Daniel O'Connell might

what he pleased in their name at home, but he lost all his power on this point, and E-

Matthew altered his attitude to the subject yellously when he came under the influence of the

These people are coming to us from every part of Europe, by millions; almost immediately they are active elements of our political movement.

claims of the chattel slave. For this, therefore, many occasional causes, but the primary and efficient one is such as affords no hope of remedy. And the native laborers of our great cities are, for the like cause, as far from the sentimentality as indifferent to the demands of Abolitionists.

In truth, it is the great problem of labor

relations to capital, or the *system of property*, occupies these people. Bring them a *system of rights and remedies* in this interest, and they will listen; or give them a method of exerting *political power* hopefully to this end, and

will allow you to add whatever philanthropic remote objects you please, which will not encumber their own work. They are not hostile, but are not concerned; and if ever they behave violent injustice in this matter, it is not from sentimental antagonism, but in recklessness wantonness toward that which is nothing to but its annoyance.

The free negro and the slave understand the value of personal liberty much better than the white man. The want of it, and the fresh and well-considered enjoyment of it, keep the feeling warm and strong in our colored people; but it touches the free laborer nowhere near enough to be felt so vehemently. He has never feared bondage; he

not find his freedom a positive and productive blessing; self-government is pretty well balanced in his condition, by self-dependence, and all its burdens and responsibilities; for in embarrassed circumstances it is not a matter of perpetual agitation, and for that reason less efficient sentiment. Indeed, there are some pine-wood places in the teller's experiences where the liberation of independence does feel like "a thorn in the side."

I am neither assuming nor accepting that any of human nature which has been called "selfish system," nor am I denying to the men under discussion any quality which man, in any condition, may boast of. The mob and the millionaires, the mass and the

per-son, are all alike essentially; they are
all men, and will yet make a beautiful
world. Indeed, if there were no other
reciprocity for truth induced by conditions,
the poor who first accept the gospel of
for it is to them that it is eminently adapted
it because it is so adapted to their own con-
ditions that they receive it. The proclamation
"liberty to the captive" makes the "year of
Lord acceptable to them that are bound." Not
in the sense of things can we understand
and illiterates, and those of a despotic
rich, cultivated, and refined, except to the
special adjustment to it in circumstances;
accordingly it is found, in all time, that the me-
anities have accepted for themselves what they
ed for themselves, neglecting, if not opposing
the extension beyond their own sphere and ad-
vantages. The believing Jew has even his doubts
of grace; and it is only the greater spirit which
understand the brotherhood, the unity of the
Closely examined, the difference between ty-

and slave, oppressed and oppressor, is not so great as that the whole breadth of the "great Gulf" between them, either here or hereafter. Providence redeems the world by devoting the wisest, the holiest, the chosen ones, to the service of the lowliest. The "internecine" style of the "great Gulf" nearly incites us to believe that we are to be agents of the beneficent work. The mission of the white and martyr race look through the whole, and see the end from the beginning, they reveal the truth, anticipating its establishment. In the enthusiasm they are prone to imagine that "the ends of the world have come upon them," that they "stand in the last days," and that "the Word of the Lord is at hand." Nevertheless, it is a certainty of both reason and experience, that the "better time" must wait till it is woken from its slumber, and smoothly into the life of the world. God will not permit the "unholy" and "unbelieving" of the humanity, will not take up the redemption of society on speculation; and political parties, whose instincts are measured by their uses, get but little into their eyes. Reform, to get recognised and legislated into force, must first get itself into the life and manners of the people, and then reflected in the political administration.

My point is, that Southern slavery, though it touches every concern of our lives, mingle with every speculation, and mixes with every moral

business—though it follows the American
the world, a shadow upon his path, and an im-
ment to every movement—though the slave
in which the African was first captured, in
native wilderness, are reconnected every day be-
our eyes, in his recapture, chattel slavery is
not the question with the uprising masses of so-
ty. They have their own liberalities asserted
plete in paper characters; they have all its fo-

in familiar use, and now they are intent upon securing its essence, its substantial promise, in Popular rights, sharply scrutinized, turn out to be only the right and position of a hard fighting means of life, to the majority; and the common soldiery, in the great battle of business position, are occupied, as they never were before, with forwarding the progress which they have made, and securing the actual fruits of it.

Some day soon, the Reformers, who are so
the sentiment, and the Progressives, who are
with their own necessities, will understand
other; the Insight and the Impulse will har-
nize, and the old repugnances against each
will be dropped along with the old insurrection
battle-cries which have lost all their pertinence
and power; for, in fact, the feudalism of property

g- which reigns now, is wholly unlike the reign
ar of force, against which the old revolutions were
r- arrayed, and republican liberty answers even
a ter all the purposes of the new dynasty than



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